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the household of the headman Sikilile, who had had four wives and one young Esele concubine. At the time of my last visit (1936), however, there were only two wives and the concubine: one wife having died, and another having gone to her people.

To complete the picture of the villagers, their numbers were as follows:

Village	*Men*	*Women*	*Children*		*Total*
			Male	*Female*	
In Sikilile's village . .	24	35	31	37	127
In Ciyanda . . .	5	8	2	4	19
In Kanjengo . . .	3	6	3	1	13
At the School . . .	10	11	10	6	37
Total . . .	42	60	46	48	
	Adults: 102		Children: 94[1]		196

In Sikilile's village there were domestic animals as follows: 9 head of cattle, 13 goats, 20 sheep, 100 pigs, and about 100 chickens. There was practically no professional specialization; there were almost no specialists living in the village: no blacksmith or carpenter, no mat-maker, but only one 'hunter of meat', and three 'hunters of (bee-) hives'. As to the women, all could make baskets, and there were several who had made pottery, but were not doing so at the time.

Pigs, chickens, and dogs roamed the village, functioning as a D.S.C. and a sewer system combined. Were it not for these scavengers the villages of the Ovimbundu would present an even more untidy spectacle than is the case. There is no other regular disposal of refuse, nor are there any latrines or privies.[2]

It will be seen that there is practically no division of labour as between households: each is practically a self-contained unit. The

[1] It was reported that in addition to the children then living, these same households had lost 57 by death (29 males and 28 females).

[2] At Ngendo the school village had two or three enclosed pit privies. The Umbundu euphemism for defecate, 'go to the bush' (*oku enda kusenge*), is revealing. Even more revealing is a proverb which advises one not to burn his bridges behind him, but literally it runs as follows:

Nda wa lisinga huti, Si endi hovyima ovjo,
Nda o ka silili pi?

If you forswear yourself saying, I shall not go behind the house,
Then will you go (to) urinate where?

There is a more shocking version which, however, may not be really authentic.

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common meal was formerly a great bond of village unity. Mutual help within the village and the family group is practised on many occasions. There are a number of folk-tales designed to show the evil consequences of refusing to lend, whether beer-pots or more valued assistance. Many proverbs enjoin the necessity of prompt and effectual mutual helpfulness and co-operation, as e.g.

U o popela ukuavo ongandu ka lula.
(He who saves another (from) a crocodile does not undress.)

The mechanism of co-operation, the round of daily life in village and field, together with the cycles of food and of work, are properly subjects of further study. Here the purpose is to show the definitely family nature of the village and of its life. To the casual observer the Ovimbundu appear as severe individualists. Indeed, they are individualistic to a degree, but they have worked out mechanisms of mutual helpfulness and co-operation which functioned both on political lines under the aegis of the king and within the kinship units.

Social Life of the Village

The two foci of the village life are the Men's Club and the Dancing Floor. Even though no *onjango* may have been built, the Men's Club will find a place in which to carry on, at least when there may be fine weather. Leisure may be limited, but time for conversation will be found. Europeans often express wonder at the amount of conversation which goes on between Africans, for they cannot understand what people of apparently such limited opportunities and with what seems like so narrow an outlook may have to discuss at such great length. As for the Ovimbundu, there is nothing which is a greater hardship than lack of opportunity for conversation with their fellows. Under primitive conditions this is more especially true of the men, who, in their villages, are always surrounded by members of their own family group. Owing to their peculiar position in the village and their household pre-occupations, the women's social propensities may find less outlet in these public gatherings. When the villagers gather on the dancing floor and the gourds of beer go round, they always separate according to sex. Whether the occasion be formal or informal, I have seen the discussion carried to great lengths, with the pipe passed between the men, while the women sat silently by,

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754 attacks also upon the persons or possessions of enemies. This type of sorcery in a very common form involves the enslavement of the spirit of another person, often a child of one's own family or kin.[1] The person whose spirit is used may be killed either by violent or by magical means. Sorcery of this type is much feared, but if wealth supposedly gained by this means is used for the benefit of the kin, the sorcerer may be tolerated or even protected in the exercise of his black art. Beneficiaries do not often have qualms concerning the source of the benefits received. One who, by reason of his family connexions or his own power, has secured a strong position may escape interference. Jealousy or grudges, however, often bring out accusations from within the circle of kin. 754 Accusations may also be made by outsiders. With the decline in 682 influence which the tribal courts have suffered, and their inability to inflict capital punishment, sorcery is less frequently punished than formerly. The consequent reductions in the number of innocent victims is a gain. This same cause has operated, how- [177] ever, to increase dealings in, and fear of, sorcery. Most of the cases brought to European courts, and even to the Church, under the name of 'poisoning' are in reality accusations of sorcery.

178 In the foregoing brief note it has not been possible adequately 754 to treat the subject, but it will be seen that sorcery has long been a divisive influence in Umbundu life. It sometimes seriously affects the cohesion of the household and the larger kinship groups. Economic, political, and other forces now seem to be acting to increase the incidence of sorcery, the influence of which is probably a considerable factor in the present rapid disintegration of the Umbundu social structure.

The Hierarchy of Age

561 Passing references have been made to associations of coevals. The Ovimbundu recognize very definitely the hierarchy of age and consider orderly society quite impossible without it. One of the keenest criticisms of the European and his ways is contained in the aphorism:

[538] *Kundele ka ku li ukulu.*
In 'civilization' there is no senior.

To Umbundu wisdom this is an impossible state of affairs;

[1] The Umbundu term is *oku andeka*; *vide* ref. *infra*, p. 107, n. 1.

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there must be a responsible senior and, hence as a matter of course, the following is accepted:

Ndalu holuluko la Vava:
Fire is not older than water:

Ciyo wa pindikapo.
Potsherd (or frying-pan) passes between (i.e. keeps the peace).

As potsherd (or frying-pan) keeps water from putting out fire and fire from consuming water, so the elder keeps the peace between the young of relatively equal status.

The hierarchy of age is taken as a matter of course and circumcision camps or other formal 'schools' are not considered necessary to reinforce an attitude which no one would dream of disputing. At the present time there is quite a vogue for circumcision camps (*vakusevamba*) in the southern or south-eastern half of the country. Some affirm that these are new-fangled notions coming in from neighbouring tribes. Others declare the institution to be very old. The Ngalangi people say that they have always had both *evamba* for the boys and *uso wakãi* for the girls. Some tribes require *evamba* of the king before he may rule. Even where the institution is not in vogue, there are associations of coevals (*vakuacisoko*) whose members have definite rights and duties toward each other. These matters are treated more fully in a later chapter. Inasmuch as these age-grade sets are both age and sex divisions, they contain some elements of social cleavage, but their association with the economic and political sides of life makes them a strongly cohesive force for society.

Umbundu Social Structure: Summary

Summarizing the evidence of the present chapter, I wish only to tie in a few of the more important threads so that the pattern of the Umbundu social structure may be seen at a glance.

Although the Ovimbundu no longer maintain the political life which formerly existed, there are elements of cohesion which still give reality to their social organism. These elements all centre in or spring from the kinship group.

With regard to the village, two facts stand out:

1. The Umbundu village is a local kinship unit, with the villagers quite literally the children of the headman-patriarch.
2. Although its political, religious, and social functions may be

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PART TWO

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

121 *The purpose of Part Two is* (1) *to describe the life-cycle or development of the individual Ocimbundu from birth until adulthood,* (2) *to analyse the Umbundu educational process, and* (3) *to indicate and evaluate elements in this process that are or may be significant for the educational work of Christian missions among the Ovimbundu.*

Chapters V, VI, and VII describe the Umbundu life-cycle and consist largely of Umbundu narrative given in direct translation. The principal source is a composite manuscript compiled for classroom use from the contributions of a number of Ovimbundu.[1] *Comments and other Umbundu material are interpolated from time to time into this principal source.*

In Chapter VIII there is an analysis of Umbundu development. The evaluations are in Chapters IX, X, and XI.

CHAPTER V

THE UMBUNDU BABY

Birth

844 WHEN birth occurs in the house, it is supposed to take place on the grinding-stone (*olumbambo*). That this was so is indicated by the [538] folk-tales and proverbs which refer to the place of birth as *polumbambo*, or *kewe lioku cita* (on the stone of giving birth).[2] In this case, and especially if a woman is giving birth for the first time, she may be assisted by older women of the village. These, in the case of widows, may be relatives of the husband, or in the case of wives of householders, they will be his relatives by marriage. A woman's own mother may assist, but when she lives in a different village she is unlikely to attend. It would not be proper for the

[1] This source is given in quotation but without further reference. The chief contributors were R. Kavita Evambi, of Ciyaka; Abrão Ngulu and A. Siku Nunda, both of Bailundu; R. Kalupeteka of Ngalangi; I. Kayalo of Viye; Ndondi students of the normal classes and several women there. It was compiled and edited (in Umbundu) by Pedro Paulo of the Currie Institute staff.

[2] Cf. the 'birth-stool' of the Hebrews (or Egyptians), *vide* Exod. i. 16.

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844 husband's mother (whether uterine or classificatory) to attend the labour of her daughter-in-law. The husband does not attend. As Mr. Hambly's informant phrased it, 'The child would be ashamed to be born.'[1] It seems that the husband's non-attendance may be
845 connected with the danger to him of the blood.[2] No other man will be present unless delayed labour entails the intervention of a medical practitioner, especially a diviner. Resort will not be had to outside aid until it seems impossible otherwise for the child to be born, and nowadays even where modern medical aid is available, often it will only be resorted to after the woman has been in labour for more than twenty-four hours[3]—sometimes much more, and then when it is already too late. Difficult delivery may be caused by:

(*a*) *Broken taboos*, as, for example, theft, either by the mother or the father. Only after confession can someone go out and steal something, after which the child 'consents' to be born.

(*b*) *Adultery* on the part of the mother, which must be confessed before the child will 'consent' to be born. The father's adultery may also cause trouble at this time, but this is more often believed to be the cause of a disease in his offspring known as *onjamba*. Failing confession of the above faults, a diviner may be called, but his diagnosis may more often indicate

(*c*) *Sorcery*, to which difficult labour, along with many other ills of life, may be attributed.[4]

(*d*) It is also believed that in some cases a woman may herself refuse to give birth and may extend her pregnancy far beyond the nine months' period, the limits of which, and its method of reckoning, are not understood. Such cases as

[1] Hambly, op. cit., p. 185.

[2] Among church-members the husband often attends the birth and is sometimes the only attendant.

[3] A labour of twelve or fourteen hours is considered quite usual, and a shorter one as light.

754 [4] Sorcery, together with ill will and anger recognized as its principal roots, are great dangers to a woman giving birth. Anyone who dislikes the woman in labour, or even one who has ever shown ill will against her, will stay strictly away from the birth. While a woman is in labour all women of the village are expected to stay at home and refrain from ordinary activities—to commune with the spirits. As one of many proverbs has it: *Ukuene nda o cita, vu salela: oku cita kukuene, oku cita kuove*; 'Your fellow, if she gives birth, you stay in: childbirth of your fellow, is childbirth of yours.'

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844 never use them again. The placenta they put in a broken gourd and bury it at the corner of the house or under the threshold: in the case of a boy outside the house, and in the case of a girl within.

'After this then they wash[1] the baby and anoint it with oil, and they tie a girdle of rag around its little loins. When all is ready, then some step outside and begin to shout for joy (*oku ulula*) saying, *Ulú! Ulú! Ulú!*[2] There has come a great big man here. Or if the baby is a girl they say, *Ulú! Ulú! Ulú!* There has come a girl here! A girl for the pounding-rock, *we-e-e! Ulú! Ulú! Ulú!* We are very grateful that she has increased our number.

'When the people hear the shouting, they hasten with joy to greet the parents and to congratulate them. Some seize the hand of the male parent and greet him saying, You have done well, you have begotten[3] for us a youth for the road, and a gatherer of firewood for the club-house. In the case of a girl, they say, A girl for the pounding-rock, the grinding stone is dirty.[4]

'In case the woman had already borne before, it is usual for her just to do it all alone by herself. She herself cuts the (cord of the) navel and buries the placenta. Many prefer to give birth in the field. Should a child have been born in the field (the cord of) his navel may be cut with a blade of corn in case there is no knife at hand. To tie up the cord she may just tear a bit of rag from her own cloth. When she comes to the village, the people will notice that she carries her basket on her head and the child in her hand, and straightway they greet her.'

846 It will be seen from this that childbirth is nothing if not simple among the Ovimbundu. Immediately after giving birth the mother purifies herself by washing in a running stream. She is accompanied only by her mentor. There is a lying-in period (until the cord falls from the navel) to be observed by the child *and* the mother, but it seems that in these days it is often observed in the [539] breach. In the folk-tale of 'Baby and his Elder Sister' (*Ñaña la Kota liaye*), the mother did not observe her part of the taboo but left the house to Elder Sister, and it was perhaps for that reason that Baby took vengeance by eating up the beans left cooking on the fire, while no one was looking.

[1] The water is warmed by being taken into the mouth and then squirted on to the baby.

[2] The sound made by plucking at the lips while shouting.

[3] The verb *oku cita*, to bear or to beget, is used of males and of females without distinction.

[4] i.e. needs attention.

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the fire, while no one was looking. Before going on to that period, the narrative will tell a little about the birth of

Twins (*Olonjamba*).[1] 'If twins are born, when they have finished cutting (the cords of) the navels they bury their placentas out of doors at a cross-road. After washing and anointing them with oil, they shout saying, *Ulú! Ulú! Ulú!* There have come here a man and a woman. When the people come, they begin while yet outside (the hut), to curse[2] (and continue) until they enter, cursing the parents. It is called *Ongombo*, The Diviner's Basket. In that way such children are followed about by all, that none of them may die. And all the time that such children are growing, it is done month by month. The parent comes out and begins to curse the people who are in the village, and then all come from their houses and follow cursing her.'

In the case of triplets, when they are weaned, one is given to the king.[3]

As soon as the midwives have finished their task, the father may come in and take up the child, but men do not 'like' to hold a child which is still 'red' (i.e. not yet black) and whose 'neck is not yet strong'. Should a woman abort (*pulumuisa*), or should the child be stillborn or die at birth, the loss is accepted philosophically, quoting the proverb:

Cinene ombenje akolovi hacimueko.
The main thing (is) the gourd jug, the shavings (are) nothing.

Should the mother also die, then they quote:

Olīsi ka kuatele, ocinunga ca enda lovava.
A fish (he) did not catch, the bracelet went with water.

Should a young woman complain that her baby is too small, the others may remind her:

Esaila olio osanji.
The egg that (is) the chicken.

Should she complain that her baby does not grow properly, they will say:

Ka ci kuli omōlā ombia, omōlā omunu o kula
It does not grow the child of (a) pot, (the) child of (a) person grows.

[1] Lit., Elephants. The reference is to the names given to twins: *Njamba* (Elephant), *Hosi* (Lion), or *Ngeve* (Hippopotamus).
[2] *Tuhōlā*, which literally means to call *hard* names.
[3] I knew of one such case in Civaka.

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in the household and then the names of all kinds of little objects until his speech is perfected.'

Weaning (*Oku sumūhã* or *oku nyamūhã*). Every day the child goes to the fields with his mother. As he grows and gets fatter and heavier he becomes quite a burden for her or for his young nurse. Until he has passed twelve months, however, there is no alternative, and more often his daily excursions continue well past his second birthday. When he is able to walk a little, then his mother may begin to leave him in the village with his young nurse while she goes to her field-work. 'So in the morning at daybreak his mother will give him his food on a little dish and the toddler (*ocisembe*) will eat until he is full. Then his mother will speak to him saying, Suckle (*Nyama*) for I am going to the veld; so he will suckle and his mother will go.' He will not suckle again until she returns at from 2 to 4 in the afternoon. Thus he begins to be weaned quite unconsciously, but that does not mean that the process will be finished quickly; it may continue for even more than two years yet, unless a younger brother or sister intervenes.

'Some children, however, do not stop suckling quickly and if that is the case, his mother will frighten him when he wants to suckle, for she will say, Look out, here is a bugaboo; for perhaps she will have put an ugly worm on her breast, or perhaps she will have rubbed on pepper and the child nursing will burn his mouth and begin to cry. But some children are shrewd so that when they taste the bitterness they will fetch water and wash the breast and it is very hard to wean them. The parent will try many different things until the child is weaned. Some children are only weaned after they are four years old or even older, but that is not common.'

As the preceding paragraph suggests, children of this age may be tyrants to their mothers and all the more since the Ovimbundu punish their children with reluctance. But field-work presses inexorably and much more can be accomplished without a child to hinder one. His mother may promise that if he doesn't cry she will bring him a rat or a bird. Then if he still does not *consent* to stay she may, with reluctance, apply the sterner measures of a slap or a proverb said in exasperation:[1]

Ove oku ku pīkīla ku kuta.
You, making for you mush, you do not fill.

[1] The serious regard for the spoken word must be kept in mind.

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Oku longa ku yevi, vumõlã hẽ?
Teaching you do not hear, are you child?

One who fails properly to absorb both mush and teaching can hardly be a proper human being. The implication of the question is that if he is not a child he may be some unearthly creature. There may be a similar implication in this other proverb which may also be used on similar occasions:

Ku ka ñavise ame konjembo si endi love.
Do not tire me I to hades shall not go with you.

U lonjila yaye, u lonjila yaye.
Each with path his (own), each with path his (own).

With the aid of elder sister mother usually wins out. Picking up her hoe and basket she gives the children their injunctions for the day. 'Stay then and I'll come right back, but don't play with the neighbour's chickens, don't beat each other, don't play with bows lest you put out the eye of another, and don't steal from the cooking pot, there now!'

With children of all ages left alone in the village, these injunctions are a minimum of necessity. The mother might also go on to detail the consequences of disobedience, how one who put out another's eye would be sold into slavery, nor was the mother exaggerating. If the Ovimbundu punish their children with reluctance, they have no reticence in instilling in them what they consider to be a healthy fear, whether of persons, animals, things, their own actions, or quite imaginary dangers. Older children likewise work on the younger. Nor are occasions for further instilling fear lacking. 'Always when they stay in the village, they go to the dancing-floor (*ocīlã*) to play with the other children. During that time should something come to frighten them and make them run away, those who haven't younger siblings to carry are glad to get away quickly. But those who have younger siblings to carry see much hardship. They tire themselves terribly trying to carry their heavy young siblings and being unable to continue, they drag them, both of them crying and crying.' Nowadays, in case of need or simply tiring of their play, children may start off for the fields in search of mother, but formerly children were not allowed to venture unaccompanied outside the safety of the village palisades. The danger of kidnappers and of raiding parties was very real. One of the most vivid memories of the Rev. Paulino Ngonga's early child-

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hood was a day when he and an elder brother set off for the fields and almost ran into a party of raiders. The scolding which they received was not forgotten.

The practice of leaving the *ocisembe* in the village by day makes his elder sibling responsible for much of his education. This is the beginning of a close bond which lasts through life. She herself may not be more than six or seven years old and consequently cannot be expected to 'educate' her little charge very thoroughly. She interests herself in his walking and talking and he will imitate her in many things, but the rest of 'conscious education' must be attended to by the parents.

Cleanliness. Instruction in cleanliness begins at this age, but I fear that it is lacking either in intensity or in persistence for its effect seems to be rather long-delayed. Small babies are not washed very often but their bodies and heads are anointed with palm-oil against infestation with the various parasites of the tropics. Anointing the body continues to be a part of the toilet of the Ocimbundu through life. When palm-oil is scarce, such afflictions as common itch are more prevalent. Nowadays, in the well-appointed household, the *ocisembe* has his hands and face washed before breakfast. If such a connexion between washing and eating were always and everywhere maintained, habits of personal cleanliness might be more widespread. Brushing the teeth may be begun in imitation of mother. Sphincter training is begun very early, for the mother feels every muscular movement made or attempted by the baby on her back. Hence she is apt to know when it is necessary to take him down for defecation. If and when this procedure is followed through with regularity and persistence early sphincter control may be established, but too often this is not the case. Establishment of bladder control is apt to come even more uncertainly as a favourite proverb concerning the weather indicates:

Ilu lia soka ndetako lioñaña.
The sky is like the bottom of a baby.

The Ovimbundu do not associate these bodily functions with shame to the extent which is the case in our culture, but euphemisms are used in place of the exact terminology.[1] If an

[1] There are prohibitions regarding these functions during visits to relatives-in-law with whom one has respect-relations, also to the bride during the wedding ceremonies. (See Folk-tales nos. 12 and 13 of the short collection in the *Journal*

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868 offered.[1] Boys may also help with younger siblings and fetch wood and water especially if there is no girl in the family, but it is my impression that at this age boys find much more time for play than do girls.

The girl of this age has already been performing useful tasks for several years in helping to care for the younger siblings or younger cousins, but the eagerness with which a girl takes up the care of a younger child makes it evident that she considers that activity rather in the nature of play. If there is no baby for whom she is expected to be responsible, she may borrow one from a neighbour. It seems almost more natural for her to carry a baby than to carry a doll (made of an ear of maize). This she will do only if she lacks a baby. Field-work and housework, chiefly the cultivation and preparation of food, are the adult activities which she must learn and which she regards as work.

861 The Ovimbundu consider that a child's socio-psychological education should be completed during early childhood. It is felt that after this time direct instruction should not be necessary, but reproof may be given should a child omit a usage or commit a fault. Should a child have plainly failed to attain the customary standards, a fatalistic attitude is often assumed as illustrated by this proverb:

[538] *Omõlã wa linga Cipupulungunju;*
The child has become a worthless thing.
Nda longele, Nda kava.
I have done with educating, I am tired.

868 *Acquiring skills.* Later childhood is the time *par excellence* for technical education. That is the time recognized for beginning to learn a profession (*ocipinduko*), and a boy is expected to try that in which either his father or his mother's brother is expert. After that, should he wish to learn some other profession and can find a master, he may apprentice himself. All children, both boys and girls, are expected to learn to cultivate, but that is not counted as a profession as the following clearly shows:

'As to cultivating (*oku lima*), formerly the purpose was only for food, that one may not be hungry, whether during the dry season (*okuenye*), or during the rains (*ondombo*), that a person and his

[1] Considering the type of formal education available, the Ovimbundu are probably right: young children need far more activity than the formal school offers or allows.

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children may have enough food. Therefore while parents have their children with them, they teach them, saying, Let us work that we may have much food, for if a person lacks food he will die of hunger, or perhaps he may steal from another's field and get into trouble. Children must be diligent in working.

'But should a parent have a child who does not want to work, the parent may beat that child to teach him sense lest he may be a sluggard (*ocisiãi*). Parents have a proverb saying,

Ú wa ku vetela[1] *kepia,*
He who you beat in the field
ka ku vetele,
did not you punish
wa ku longisa olondunge.
he you taught sense.

'Before beginning, parents always encourage their children to work. Cultivation, however, is not counted as a profession (*ocipinduko*). Should a person cultivate a great deal so that from his field he has very much food, then people will take notice and say, So-and-so has enslaved a spirit[2] to the seeds, he has spirits (*ilũlũ*) and they are helping him. That causes great fear, for people fear (those who) have spirits.[3] Thus, even though a person should purpose to teach another how to cultivate in order to have much food, the other will only apparently agree[4] because of his fear. Therefore the work of cultivation is not sought after as a profession by children, for they say, Being a farmer (*ongunja*)[5] is the work of sorcerers (*olongangã*) and not of ordinary people.'[6]

[1] *Vetela* is the relative mood (or form) of the verb *oku veta*. There is a pun in its use here since it is also used with *epia* in the sense of breaking ground for a new field.

[2] The verb used here—*oku andeka, andekela*—means securing the services of a person's spirit by killing the person (whether by witchcraft or by actual violence). The person is often a child and often of one's own family. In some cases parts of the body are said to have been kept for subsequent ritual use, e.g. bones and flesh dried and ground for 'fertilizer', or the skull for a drinking-cup. It will be seen that this is sorcery. The reflexive form of this verb, *oku liandeka*, means to form a blood-brotherhood, but it is a sorcerer's pact involving the sacrifice of a third person.

[3] The expression used means either to have or to have the reputation for having.

[4] He agrees with *ocenyo*, a term commonly translated as 'irony' or 'contempt'.

[5] This is the term which we commonly use for 'farmer'. Its connotation should be understood.

[6] This section is translated from a manuscript by Raul Kavita Evambi of Ciyaka.

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463 *Wood-working*, including the following specializations:
462 Doors, windows, and their frames; coffins.
[322] Beds, tables, chairs, &c.
Mortars, pestles, grinding-handles, and handles for various iron implements.
Stools, household utensils, carved images, staves, knobkerries, &c.
Drums and other musical instruments.
Canoes (dug-outs and coracles).
Rope-making, nets, and rudimentary weaving.
Thatching has its specialists although all men can thatch.
Fishing.
Bee-hunting, including the making of hives.
224 *Hunting*.
326 *Iron-smelting and smithing*.
791 *Medical-practice and Divination*.

The last three professions of the list are sacred and are entered under special conditions. They are often passed on by inheritance, but not always. All of them require sacrifice at certain stages, and when the enslavement of a spirit (*oku andeka*) is required, it is socially allowable. This seems to be the case with these offices as with those of the king and his ministers, both because of benefits accruing to the community in their exercise and also because of inherent danger to the individuals who exercise these functions.

177 The advent of European commerce, industry, and government
463 has created a number of types of employment for boys and young men, some of which entail prolonged absence from the village and a loosening or severing of kinship ties. Church and mission have
[791] also offered employment and have opened new opportunities for advance in place and in position.

861 Later childhood, then, is the period of technical training during which it is expected that a large amount of economic responsibility will be assumed. A child begins to own property even before this, and from the beginning of later childhood will be accounted legally responsible for his actions. It is recognized, however, that he should not be set tasks beyond the experience or ability of his age and that the full responsibility of adulthood will only come with marriage.

[538] *Umālēhē ka tonyōlā ongulu yuvala*;
A youth does not scrape the pig for the wedding feast;
pekonjo pa siala (*ovonya*).
on the hoof there remain (bristles).

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

preference for a polygynous household at this age, but no definite tradition which urges one 'to become lord and master of a complete circular village'.[1] Women are happiest while carrying a baby on the back.

Onyima yiwa ha yi mõlĩ omõlã,
Back good (yet) it does not see a child,

wails a childless woman. No grandmother is satisfied without herself caring for at least one grandchild. Old age is subject to its own burden of the years but among the Ovimbundu the aged are treated with much respect and deference.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS V–VII

THE periods in the life of an Ocimbundu may be summarized as follows:

1. The 'Marginal' Period of the First Week (*ocitete*) until the funicle drops.
2. The Baby Proper (second week until about seventh month) (*oñaña*) (from turning black until sitting alone).
3. The Sitting-baby or Toddler (*ocisembe*) (from sitting alone until mastery of walking and completion of weaning).
4. Early Childhood (from weaning until about 9 years) (*oneñe*). Period of socio-psychological education.
5. Later Childhood (from about 9 until puberty) (*omõlã*). Period of technical training and assumption of economic responsibility.
6. Adolescence (from puberty until marriage). Period of preparation for marriage and full adulthood.
7. First Year of Marriage, during which the bride completes her training under her mother-in-law's guidance.
8. Full Adulthood (from birth of first child).

[1] Junod, op. cit., 1927, vol. i, p. 127.

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This unity of 'the social sphere of adult and child' is a striking feature of the Umbundu educational process. A child learns by actual participation in adult activities. He participates as soon as he is able and in so far as he is able in all phases of adult life. A child begins early to assume responsibility both for himself and for as much regular 'adult activity' as his knowledge and ability may allow him to take on. This being the case, it is to be expected that all factors—physiological, psychological, social, and cultural—are so closely interrelated in the process of Umbundu education that their unity is almost organic.

Given this unitary social sphere, it is easy to understand that children always want to grow up. They are anxious to undertake full responsibility and full participation as early as they may. It has been pointed out that adults do not, or are expected not to, force the pace: they must not set tasks beyond the ability of the children in the actual stage of their development.[1] Normal development and normal behaviour are expected of children as a matter of course.[2] The possibility of aberrant behaviour[3] does not seem regularly to enter parents' minds, much less their utterances, as is too often the case with us. Adult expectation of normal development in children is perhaps best seen in the Umbundu concept of sense or intelligence (*olondunge*), something which every normal person is expected to have in some measure from the time of weaning. It is a relative term when applied to children and the young.[4] Some adults have it in greater measure than others. But every *person* will have it according to the proverb:

> *Omuku lovonya, omunu lolondunge.*
> A rat with fur, a person with sense.

As every rat has fur, every person has sense.

Learning, as he does, in the real social and cultural situation of Umbundu life, the child develops genetically the behaviour

Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York: Morrow, 1928). Some writers have claimed this to be true of all the simpler cultures, e.g. Dewey, op. cit., p. 8 f., but cf. Margaret Mead, *Growing up in New Guinea* (New York: Morrow, 1930). Many of the African initiation rites seem to have been introduced from the outside and hence involve a distinct dichotomy, *vide* Stayt, op. cit.

[1] See *supra*, p. 110.

[2] See Fortes' discussion of a similar attitude among the Tallensi, op. cit., pp. 25–8.

[3] For the fatalistic attitude taken on failure to conform, see *supra*, p. 106.

[4] See *supra*, p. 100.

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from several primitive cultures,[1] and some experimental studies seem to indicate that it is less general in the United States than had previously been supposed.[2] It is recognized that in this country parent–child fixations have produced many pathological cases.[3] With the practical absence of such fixations among the Ovimbundu, no such group of pathological cases exists. This is a clear gain, but there is also probably a loss, in that there seems to be a corresponding scarcity of the more or less introverted idealistic persons, 'the tender-minded class described by William James'.[4]

Ovimbundu parents proverbially love their eldest child (*nuñulũ*) in a special way,[5] but there is not in their family situation as much invidious distinction as that which in ours often produces the domineering eldest child, the inadequate youngest, and others in the sequence with feelings of neglect or 'rejection'. The Umbundu family situation almost inevitably involves less sharpness of distinction, for although the eldest child may be loved in a special way he deals not only with his parents but with other relatives of their generation and with elder (classificatory) siblings and cross-cousins of his own generation. So, also, the last or youngest child of a sequence would hardly sense himself the youngest since there will almost certainly be younger (classificatory) siblings and cross-cousins toward whom he in turn will act as his elders acted toward him.[6] In a normal Umbundu family situation the problem of the 'only child', so acute in America, is almost inconceivable.

Some Ovimbundu, not only as children but also as younger siblings and as secondary wives, do suffer from feelings of neglect and rejection. I have not noted this from biographical or other direct evidence, except from observation of resentment on the part of younger siblings of fagging by their elders. Evidence exists, however, in the frequency of the Cinderella motif in Umbundu folk-tales. Many are the fables in which Little Hare (*Kandimba*), Little Tortoise (*Kambeu*), or Little Weasel (*Kavili*) gets the better of his stupid elders, represented by almost any and all of the larger

[1] Cf. Mead, loc. cit., Fortes, op. cit., p. 9.

[2] Gardner and Lois B. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology* (New York: Harpers, 1931), pp. 429–32.

[3] Allport, op. cit., p. 362.

[4] Quoted from Allport, op. cit., p. 362.

[5] Cf. the proverb: *Epungu liwa konendela; omõlã sole kunuñulũ*, '(Of) corn best the first fruits; (of) children (you) love the first born'.

[6] This seems to be the state of affairs quite generally in societies having a classificatory kinship system. Cf. M. Mead, op. cit., chaps. iii, iv.

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157 538 593 animals.[1] Other tales with frankly human protagonists portray the same theme,[2] and there are a number of Umbundu adaptations and variations of such European versions of this theme as Cinderella, Snow White, &c. In some tales, such as 'Kalitangi', the hero escaped as an infant from an agreement made by his mother before his birth with another expectant mother that they would both destroy their offspring. Does this indicate a resentment of, or a protest against, child-sacrifice in certain Umbundu rites? I mention this as one possible source for the feeling of neglect and 'rejection' which, however, does not seem to be as acute or as widespread as in our own society.[3] The exact situation could only be determined by careful and extensive investigation.

593 152 [643] Adjustments between siblings among the Ovimbundu on the whole are relatively satisfactory. Resentment on the part of the younger does sometimes occur as indicated above. Overt sibling conflict has also arisen quite frequently in the royal families because of disputes over the succession. Instances of this latter type of conflict may be found in narratives of the early missionaries,[4] in diaries of Silva Porto,[5] and in other early sources. Conflict from jealousy arising out of the parent–child relationship, however, seems to be relatively rare. In a kinship society regulated by the hierarchy of age, jealousy between siblings does not quite fit into the picture. The two most common terms for jealousy over personal relations refer strictly to sexual jealousy: *esepa*, woman's jealousy; and *ukuelume*, jealousy on the part of a man. The other terms are somewhat more applicable but they belong less to household affairs. The meaning of *onya* is jealousy and envy, while *ocipululu* is covetousness and so belongs to the economic sphere.

572 [554] Friendship, especially between age-mates or 'coevals', has played and continues to play an important role in Umbundu social adjustments. Such differences as social station, family, distance of habitation, and even diversity of language and culture are easily bridged by friendship. Many friendships were formed on trading

[1] Cf. *Journal of the American Folk-Lore Society*, 1922, vol. 35, nos. 1 and 18, pp. 116 f., 140 ff.

[2] The tale of *Ñaña la kota liaye* (Baby and his elder sister) referred to *supra*, p. 84.

[3] Investigations of the 'foster-child phantasy', feelings of neglect, 'rejection', &c., reported by Murphy, op. cit., p. 415 f.; and by Allport, op. cit., p. 364 f.

[4] *Missionary Herald*, 1888, p. 242 f.

[5] In *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 1885, 1886.

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He draws the crescentic arrowhead (p. 123) still common among the Ovimbundu and Vachokue; the double iron gong (p. 122); and the musical bow, which he calls a violz (p. 121). 175 114 [534]

Sogaur states that iron-working had an advanced technique at Dindo, more than half a century ago. According to Sogaur, the blacksmith was using scrap iron from European sources (II, p. 14). 175 326

Perhaps the most valuable of Chatelain's books is "Fifty Folk Tales of Angola." The stories are accompanied by translations and ethnological notes, the most important of which are references to the carrying of a corpse on a pole; the building of a cairn of stones over the corpse of a hunter; matrilineal descent and the power of the maternal uncle over the persons of his nieces and nephews (sisters' children). My observations included some details respecting the pawning of a sister's children to redeem the debts of their mother's brother. Chatelain adds that sisters' children are successors to private property and chieftainship (pp. 8–10). My notes agree that property is inherited by children of a deceased man's sister, but my informants said that a new chieftain is normally the eldest son of the principal wife of the dead chief. Chatelain's folklore stories, fifty in number, relate chiefly to animals; this was the only kind of story told to me, but W. C. Bell has recorded a few tales of another type. 173 [114] [764] [611] [604] [428] [538]

Marquardsen (1928) devotes only one-fourth of his book to the ethnology of Angola, which he treats in a very general way; there is no section dealing specifically with any particular tribe. The author calls attention to Chapman's observation of rock paintings of South African Bushman type, between Cuma and Luimbale in northwest Angola. I have elsewhere remarked on the occasional occurrence of physical types which show a strain of Bushman blood. Today Bushmen penetrate southern Angola from the Kalahari (Plate LXIX, Figs. 1, 2), but their presence in times past or present does not affect the course of history or the data of ethnology to an appreciable extent. 114 177 [531] [144]

Marquardsen gives some notes of a general kind on Vaheneca, Mahuila and other tribes of southwest Angola. The suggestion is feasible that the Umbundu name Suku, for a supreme being, is the same as the Nzambi of Lunda and the Congo. Marquardsen refers to the importance of the maternal uncle in Umbundu society, to the poison ordeal, and to the burial of an Umbundu chief in oxhide, all of which points were recorded in my observations at Elende. 114 101

Ferreira Diniz's book is unobtainable, but, judging from the summary given in *Anthropos* (XX, 1925, pp. 321–331), the information was collected by a questionnaire widely distributed among adminis-

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825 824 Nature lore of the Ovimbundu rightly forms an introduction to other aspects of economic life, because there is no better introduction to ethnological research in the field than that of associating with the people in daily occupations connected with the food supply and industries. In this way a field worker realizes that observation on the part of hunters and food gatherers is fundamental, not merely to economic and social life, but to the growth of language and folklore.

Observation and experiment have led to the selection of many kinds of timber, each having one or more specific uses. Collection of plants is connected with the making of dyes for baskets, a varnish for pots, and a pharmacopoeia for the medicine-man. Minute observation of the habits of animals, primarily carried out to ensure successful hunting, is clearly reflected in the growth of vocabulary, and likewise in the realism and humor of folk tales and proverbs (chapter VIII). [538]

This chapter is concerned chiefly with a presentation of factual material whose psychological and cultural bearing is more fully dealt with in chapters X–XII.

NATURE LORE

825 The Ovimbundu are keen observers whose knowledge of the natural history of plants and animals is comprehensive. Almost any boy of twelve years of age is able to give the information detailed here. Some of the birds have been identified by Mr. Rudyerd Boulton, Department of Zoology, Field Museum.

Ombo. Ostrich. The knowledge of this bird must come from the south of Angola. In traveling south I first saw ostriches at Humbe. These were domesticated birds.

Epanda. Wattled Crane (*Bugeranus carunculatus*). The informant said, "*Epanda* is a big bird which has long legs and a long neck."

Epumumu. This is the Ground Hornbill (*Bucorvus cafer*) whose black wings are tipped with white. I have observed them from Ganda to Vakuanyama country. They take to flight slowly after hopping heavily for a few paces.

Ocamukongo. From the Umbundu word *ukongo*, a hunter. This bird lives on small buck and rabbits.

Etokatilo. This is the smaller bustard called by the Boers knorhaan.

Ohanga. The Guinea Fowl (*Numida meleagris*).

Onjava. Spur-winged Goose (*Plectropterus gambensis*).

Ongonga. An eagle. The word is used generally for a large bird of prey.

Ohokohoko. The Bateleur Eagle (*Terathopius ecaudatus*). The bird is almost without a tail. This bird is not predatory. It kills snakes but does not take chickens or other small animals.

Ociselele. A kite, well known because it preys on chickens.

Etalahanga. A hawk which waits in the trees then volplanes on its prey.

Okapamba. A small hawk which preys on chickens.

Enyamahuti. A hawk.

Ocikuamanga. The White-breasted Crow (*Corvus albus*).

Ongwali (*wa-wa*). This is the Red-necked Partridge (*Pternistis afer*).

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Ekalaupa. A species of francolin without red coloring on the legs.

Esusi. This is a bird which comes out at night. It can catch spirits and make them die a second death.

Onjimbi. This nocturnal owl (*Bubo maculosus*) is thought to be very dangerous. People who hear the cry of this bird are frightened because the noise is the sound of death.

Kaculuculu. The Barn Owl (*Tyto alba affinis*).

Ongongayulombo. An eagle which eats small buck, pigs, and rabbits.

Ekuti. Is a Red-eyed Dove (*Streptopelia semitorquata*) which says "oo–oo–oo" very sharply all day.

Onenda. A dove (*Streptopelia capicola*) which makes the same noise as *ekuti* but on a higher note.

Onduwa. This bird is of great importance to the Ovimbundu, because the feathers are used for decorating the head of a dead king. A medicine-man sometimes uses them for decoration when he is performing.

Ondonga. Is a little bird, which, like *onduwa*, belongs to the royal family of birds.

Ukuku. A water bird.

Ocisandombunji. This is a bird which feeds on white ants.

Epandacokocoko. This is a bird (*Geocichla litsipsirupa*) whose cry tells the people of a village to make the guest house ready as strangers are coming.

Ocilonga. Is a beautiful yellow bird, an oriole (*Oriolus monarchus angolensis*).

Etwa, singular; *ocatwa*, plural. A species of bustard.

Etioko. A small bird of the plains (*Anthus leucophrys*).

Okakelekele. This is the Spur-wing Plover (*Hoplopterus armatus*), a large bird which lives on flat land near rivers.

Ocikandi. An unidentified bird. My informant said, "*Ocikandi* can cry in the same way as any other bird."

Okakongonjala. This is a bird somewhat like a pigeon but larger. It has long legs and is able to run well.

Undolo. A small spotted bird which always looks in the direction of the sun.

Omiapia. This is a swallow.

Ocikungumiapia. My informant said, "This bird is like *omiapia* but larger."

Omuipui. "He has a crest on his head and when he sings rain is coming."

Ecunguapuluwe. This bird has a long beak. It lays eggs on the ground., The bird is as big as a man's fist.

Omanala. A woodpecker (family Picidae).

Okangongo. Has a white breast spotted with black; the head is blue.

Ocinjonjo. This is a little bird having a long beak which is used to probe into flowers.

Kasselekele. A little black bird which makes a small fine nest.

Ocituku. A river bird. These birds go about in flocks.

Ongombo. A small yellow bird.

Epilili. A yellow bird rather larger than *ongombo*. This bird is kept in cages very cleverly made of reeds by small boys. The birds are caught by smearing a sticky substance on the branches of trees.

Ocikenge. Apaprnis rosicollis. A small green parrot.

Okaluasondonjovo. Is to be seen at the time of *onjovo* (spring). These birds fly in flocks.

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A description of bird-calls illustrates a method of reasoning by analogy. This results in a transference of human thoughts and emotions to animals, a process which gives animal fables their strong

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538 825 appeal. For example, the pigeon says, *Tu kolela oku iva* ("We believe in stealing"), and the following are further instances of the same kind.

Ocinganja is a bird which has several calls. Early in the year the female says as she looks at the newly hatched brood, "This year I have borne white children." Later the little birds grow black feathers. Then the mother cries, "Each year disappointment." Sometimes the female says to the cock bird, "A stick has stuck in my eye. I wonder whether it will make a growth there." The bird is probably the Black Flycatcher (*Melaenornis pammelaina*).

Epandacokocoko says, "Where will the guests stay? Where? Where? Where?" This is an unfailing intimation that strangers will visit the village.

Omanula. This is another bird which announces the approach of strangers by saying, "*Akombe! Akombe! Akombe!*" ("Guests! Guests! Guests!") Two birds are supposed to carry on a dialogue.

Sankanjuele says, "He who has eaten should leave the rest for the important ones," meaning himself.

Ondonga answers, "Do you mean me? The way you scold hurts me to my heart."

Ungolombia. The male and female birds *ungolombia* are about to cross a stream. The female says, "I am wearing four yards of cloth," meaning that she will get wet. The husband says, three times, "If you are wearing four yards of cloth, why do you not cross at the source of the river?"

Ombovo says, "When I lay my eggs on the ground, the white ants destroy them." The call continues, "When I lay them up high, *kalupamba* steals them." *Ombovo* cries, "Such hardship, goodness gracious me!" The exclamation is, "*A mai we,*" literally, "O my mother!"

Kocukuku the Barn Owl (*Typo alba*) and his mate speak together. The female says, "*Cimuku*, do you eat rats?" He answers, "I do not eat them, they have tails."

Ungungu says, "No big animal lays eggs, so the crocodile must be a bird, too."

Ocimbamba (night hawk) may be heard on moonlight nights saying, "O lion, here are the people."

Ekuti says, "My child is gone to *Koputu*." *Koputu*, in Umbundu, means a far off place. Possibly *Koputu* is a corruption of Oporto. This bird makes a monotonous and continuous cry from sunrise to sunset.

Epununu (hornbills) are large black birds. The female says, "I'm going, I'm going, I'm going to our village." The male replies, "Don't go, don't go, the rain has come; let us plant."

Katendipanga. This bird is quiet until September, the month in which rain begins to fall. Then the bird says, "Save! Save! Save!" He means this as a warning to people who eat their corn instead of saving some for seed. The seed should be sown in October when the rains have begun. The derivation of the name of this bird is important. *Okutenda*, to count; *oripanga*, the rows of corn in a field.

Kalusundanjovo. The female bird says, "Let's throw away the big drum." The male answers, "When we have thrown it away, what shall we do for dances?"

821 Observations of the weather are of importance in fixing dates for sowing and reaping; such dates are the base of time reckoning. Rainfall is important where cattle are kept, and a knowledge of the stars is of service to hunters and caravan leaders when following unfamiliar routes.

[789] The weather is thought to be controlled to some extent by the *ocimbanda* ("medicine-man") and his performances. The rain-

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(9) Four fingers of the right hand are placed on the thumb of the extended left hand. 201

(10) The hands are placed together palm to palm.

A very insulting sign is made in this way. The left arm is held up with the fist closed. The left wrist is grasped with the right hand. The left fist is then shaken while the right hand is still grasping the left wrist. "This is done when a man is very angry, and he cannot find words."

A bending forward of the head accompanied by wide opening of the eyes and protrusion of the tongue means "you're a fool."

Shaking the head means "no." If the right hand is shaken in front of the face with the index finger extended, a negative is implied. Nodding the head is an affirmative sign. To indicate absence of anything, or the completion of something, the index finger of the right hand is drawn across the mouth. Rubbing the palms together rapidly has the same significance. In order to call some one the right arm is extended with the palm down. If they summon some one from a distance the arm is lowered, while a scratching movement is made with the fingers. The sign indicating "go away" is a flipping of the hand outwardly, while the arm is extended.

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RIDDLES AND PROVERBS

"There is a red belt round our field. What is it?" The answer is, "red ants."

"We have somebody who lies all his life in our field. He always lies on one side." The answer is, "a squash."

"We have a stump in the house that is always burning and always moving." This is a metaphor rather than a riddle. The stump is the log which is pushed forward into the fire. It is always alive yet is gradually dying. The saying is intended to refer to human lives. People are alive but their lives are becoming shorter each day.

"What is it that we eat above and below the ground?" The answer is, "manioc, because the leaves and roots are eaten."

"The turtle cannot climb up on a stump, some one has to put it there." This is said in reference to some person who gains a high position which he could attain only by influence and not through merit. 539

When a person makes threats without being able to fulfil them the following expressions are appropriate: "Hot water does not

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539 mother leopard returned, the jerboa brought out the only cub four times. On the fourth day the jerboa ate the last of the cubs.

When the mother leopard came home the jerboa was terrified, so said, "The cubs are not very well, you must go in the room to feed them; I cannot bring them out." When the leopard had gone into the sleeping room the jerboa ran quickly into his hole in the ground.

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538 These tales from my records were all told to me by Ngonga. It
[113] is true that some of the stories appear in the Umbundu reader "Olosapo Vioku Likisa Oku Tanga" (Kamundongo, 1914). But when this book was printed Ngonga was already well acquainted with all the stories therein, and many more. Most of the tales were, and are today, an integral part of the Umbundu language.

My own inquiries had the same result as those of Chatelain in revealing a preponderance of stories of animals. Yet W. C. Bell
[113] was able to collect several tales relating entirely to the adventures of human beings (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, XXXV, pp. 116–150). At times there is a didactic theme running through a tale, which emphasizes the value of courage, presence of mind, and perseverance. A sense of humor is shown in the conversations of animals and the tricks which the smaller creatures use to the discomfort of the larger animals.

538 Comparative study of stories told by the Ovimbundu with those
171 from other parts of Africa opens up a field of research, especially in view of the long caravan journeys of the Ovimbundu. Chatelain narrates the Angolan story of the frog who boasted that he could
[113] ride the elephant, and contrived to do so by a clever ruse (*Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, VII, p. 62). The Nigerian story of the tortoise who fulfilled the same boast is told by A. B. Ellis (Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast, London, 1894, p. 265).

The Ovimbundu have the story of the tortoise who made a wager with the antelope respecting a race which they agreed to run. The tortoise won the wager by placing one of his brothers at the winning post. The Umbundu version is given in "Olosapo" (p. 53), and there is a Cameroon version.

The tug-of-war story which tells of a trick played against the hippopotamus and the elephant is known to the Ovimbundu. The story has a wide distribution with local variations. Sometimes the elephant and the hippopotamus are unwittingly made to pull

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against one another by some small clever animal such as the monkey or the hare. In the version given by H. S. Stannus (Harvard African Studies, vol. III, p. 329) the hare perpetrates this ruse. The version given by Smith and Dale (The Ila-speaking Peoples of Rhodesia, vol. II, p. 377) makes the contestants a hippopotamus and a rhinoceros, but the hare again arranges the tug-of-war. E. Dayrell (Folklore Stories from Southern Nigeria, London, 1910, p. 104) gives another variant of the tug-of-war story, which states that one end of the rope was made fast to a palm tree. The hippopotamus was under water so he could not see the object against which he was pulling. He thought he was tugging against the tortoise as arranged.

Umbundu stories are humorous and didactic, while some indicate a process of rationalizing. An example of the latter kind is found in the story explaining why the bat flies at night. Dayrell (pp. 36, 51) gives two different versions of this rationalizing tale.

These folklore stories of the Ovimbundu give information respecting vocabulary, structure of the language, powers of observation, customs, and ideas of conduct.

I have found no stories which illustrate the grafting of elements from two different cultures. In some parts of Africa tales may be heard which contain blended elements from a Negro and a Semitic culture, as in Nigeria. But assimilation of features which were foreign to the story at its cultural origin does not occur in the tales given here, with the exception of the European story of the greedy dog, which is an importation.

The Ovimbundu were noted for their long caravan journeys, which were undertaken in territory occupied by tribes of the same linguistic family (Bantu), a fact which may account for the similarity of Umbundu and other Bantu versions of the same tales.

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way. Such instances as these came to light when my primary intention was a study of the use of wooden arrows for killing birds.

An inquiry about the names of trees and the use of timbers led to the topic of making and using wooden figures for magical purposes. Woodcraft, wood-carving, and religion are associated.

There is no fallacy so great as that of supposing that data may be collected and retained in mutually exclusive divisions. For example, a study of proverbs leads to native ideas concerning government, succession to office, and standards of conduct. The Ovimbundu say, "A turtle cannot climb on a tree stump, some one has to place it there." What is the meaning of this proverb? There are some men who occupy positions for which they have no ability; such men have been chosen through influence. The normal successor to chieftainship and kingship is the eldest son of the deceased man's principal wife, but if this rightful successor is stupid, some other son will be chosen. Yet the foolish youth may have friends who see their own advantage in having a weak ruler; they therefore combine to place him in office. The turtle has been placed on the tree stump, since it could not climb there.

In addition, folklore shows projection of the mentality of human beings into the lives of animals. Bird cries, with their supposed calls and answers, indicate that the birds have their family relationships involving strife, love, jealousy, and generosity. To the Ovimbundu, birds are a feathered human community.

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Proverbs reveal a philosophy which is expressed by the German *Weltanschauung*. "If you are full of food, do not climb on a leopard's back; the leopard may be hungry." This means that one should not be foolishly exalted through good fortune. "You cannot tie a buck's head in a cloth; the horns will stick out," expresses the idea that crime cannot be concealed. "Hot water does not burn a house, and cold water does not make mush," is a sarcastic reply to one who boasts of things he cannot do. A riddle may express a philosophical train of thought. "What is it that lives while it dies and dies while it lives?" This is the log of wood the end of which is from time to time pushed farther into the fire. Like a human life, the log is being slowly consumed while yet living. Such examples as these call attention to a welding of thought, language, nature lore, and ideas that regulate conduct.

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In considering food supply and occupations, division of labor on a sex basis is clear. Social sanctions have determined the appro-